

served teaching, and their accounts of how they experienced the teaching units on the Cold War, what they had considered when planning the unit, and why they thought the Cold War should be taught. On an analytical level, these different kinds of data are all narratives: the textbooks and popular history magazines present various narratives on history, the teachers' interpretations of textbook quotations also take on the form of narrative, and the same goes for the other teacher interviews and classroom observations (what I analysed there were the accounts the teachers and historical media presented to the pupils). Thus, the concept of uses of history was applied to various narratives.

As I discuss in greater detail below, there are problems in applying Karlsson's typology of uses of history to narratives since it relates to the psychological traits of the author of these uses and these are not to be found on the level of the narrative. Rather, they have to be analysed implicitly in narratives, which made the analyses according to this typology analytically challenging when analysing narratives that did not refer back directly to the author. In other words, when a textbook or a teacher relates to a historical event or chain of events that reside 'outside' of them, it is hard to tell what psychological needs or interests have caused this use. In this case, the typology should be applied with caution and rather be used as a kind of device to show possible ways of making implicit sense of what has been narrated explicitly. However, in the fourth study included here, the teachers were asked to narrate how they thought history had affected them in their role as teacher and what they had taken into consideration when planning a teaching unit. Here the teleological uses of history were easier to analyse since the teachers made direct and explicit references to how certain historical events had affected them and why they had chosen to present the history of the Cold War the way they did. In this context, the teleological use of history corresponded explicitly to a professed aim or purpose with the historical example, and this facilitated the analyses.

The narratological uses of history were easier to analyse since they relate to the narratological properties the narratives had: how was the historical example treated and what awareness of the contextual contingencies of history did it display? For these reasons, it is only what the narratives explicitly express regarding these properties that are analysed. One aspect of the narratological uses of history that proved to be analytically difficult was to separate the traditional from the exemplary uses of history. In my view both these uses present history as something that is void of perspective and contextual contingency. The historical narrative is presented as if it were transparent,¹⁵⁸ i.e. representations of historical facts are presented as if they were

¹⁵⁸ See Frank Ankersmit, 'Representation as a Cognitive Instrument', *History & Theory* 52, no. 2 (May 2013): 173–75.

historical facts, irrespective of whether we have narratives that strive to uphold tradition or argue an example using history. In other words, even if the narratives have different agendas, they constitute cognitively similar ways to approach history, and were therefore analytically difficult to tell apart. For this reason I chose to modify Rüsen's typology and delete the exemplary type in the third and fourth articles included here.

It should also be noted that Jörn Rüsen's typology of four categories of historical consciousness that was used in the first article included here, was abandoned since these categories were difficult to discern empirically. For this reason I adopted an approach to historical consciousness that distinguishes between a non-reflexive one, i.e. a historical consciousness that does not display awareness of how multi-chronological aspects influence historical narratives, and a reflexive one that displays such awareness.

Ethical Considerations

All teachers were informed of the aims and purposes of the study, that they could retract their participation at any time without giving any specific reason, and that the material would only be used for scientific purposes, and all gave their written consent to participate.¹⁵⁹ I strove to accommodate the teachers' requests regarding when and where they were interviewed, since it was their participation and willingness to devote time that made this research project possible. The teachers were interviewed at their workplaces and I specifically stated that I was interviewing them in their capacities as history teachers, thus trying to encourage more professional responses from them. I informed the teachers that some questions could be of a personal nature and that they should only answer the questions they felt comfortable answering. I also advised them to only share memories and personal opinions that they wanted to share, and that they should not feel obliged to provide me with what they felt would be good or interesting data. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. All of the teachers have been anonymised for the studies included in this thesis and they have been given fictive names. When analysing the data collected from the teachers, I strove to interpret and represent the teachers' accounts and replies in as accurate a manner as possible. I have also striven to present a picture of the teachers that was as representative of them as possible taking all aspects of the collected material into consideration.

Since the value of qualitative research to a certain extent depends on the credibility of the interpretations and representations offered and the methodological soundness of the research design, I have striven to quote the empirical data used as much as possible in order to validate the interpretations I have made and the conclusions I have drawn. I have also made an effort to

¹⁵⁹ See Vetenskapsrådet, *God forskningssed* (Stockholm: Vetenskapsrådet, 2011).

present the quoted data (e.g. the history textbooks, popular history magazines, and interviews with history teachers) in as representative a manner as possible. Furthermore, I have given a lot of space and time to describing the methodological approaches and procedures I used when working with the collected data in order to allow others to assess whether the conclusions I have drawn or the assessments I have made are scientifically sound.

Results

The results of the studies are presented below. The presentation is divided into four sections. The first section briefly summarises the most important results from the individual articles included in this thesis. The second section presents how the theoretical framework has been developed. The third section presents the aspects of historical culture that are constituted in the historical media studied. Finally, the fourth section presents how history teachers use history and relate to historical culture when interpreting historical media and carrying out history teaching. Hence, an effort has been made to present the results of the individual articles in aggregation rather than one by one in order to stress how these studies should be regarded as coherent and inter-related.

Brief Summary of the Articles Included

Historical Consciousness and Historical Media: A History Didactical Approach to Educational Media

This article is the first in which a methodology based on the notions of historical consciousness, uses of history and historical culture, according to the present view of the concepts, is applied. Its primary aim is to propose a framework of historical consciousness and to discuss the parts that could be pertinent for analysing historical media in terms of their ability to express and develop a historical consciousness.¹⁶⁰ The article analyses a section of a Swedish lower secondary history textbook portraying Swedish post World War II history, and applies certain aspects of the framework. It argues that it is important to include the uses and contexts in analyses of historical media according to the developed framework since a historical consciousness does not reside in textbooks or other historical media, but rather in the minds of authors and users of historical media. What we find in historical media are various uses of history (i.e. narrative enactments of history) that have been created by someone and that are interpreted by someone else.¹⁶¹

The analysis finds that the textbook section studied presents a narrative in which the traditional narratological use of history is the most dominant one, resulting in the tentative conclusion that the historical consciousness manifested by the textbook narrative is a traditional or exemplary one. History is presented as if it were void of perspective and interpretation, and we are offered a narrative that presents a factual reconstruction of the past. The narrative also seems to conform to what is perceived to be the dominant narrative mode in Swedish textbooks, suggesting a manifestation of a dominant

¹⁶⁰ Thorp, 'Historical Consciousness and Historical Media', 497. ¹⁶¹ Ibid., 502–3.

historical culture concerning how history is narrated in history textbooks.¹⁶² Following these results it is argued that looking at how historical media are used is key in order to analyse their propensities for developing certain skills in their users. Furthermore, how we perceive history could be argued to be important as well since an awareness of narratological aspects of textbook narratives could facilitate critical analyses of history.¹⁶³

Popular History Magazines and History Education

This article analyses how five articles from popular history magazines from five European countries portrayed the outbreak of the First World War in terms of the content they chose to include and the uses of history that were constituted by the articles. Even though all five articles were published in popular history magazines, they were all authored by professional historians.¹⁶⁴ The study finds that the articles use different approaches for explaining why the war broke out. We are offered causal explanations focusing on the assassinations of the Austro-Hungarian Arch Duke and his wife, the motives and mind sets of the most dominating politicians in Europe, popular support for the war, structural reasons emanating from popular nationalism and mere chance.¹⁶⁵

Regarding uses of history, the articles are less diverse. The politico-pedagogical teleological use of history is the dominant one in the articles studied since they all focus on disseminating what is presented as the real reason why the First World War erupted. Closely connected to this is an ideological use of history that tries to convince the presumptive readers that this version of history is the most plausible one.¹⁶⁶ Narratologically the articles also present rather similar versions of history: narratives that use history traditionally are the most common ones. History is presented in a passive voice and we are presented with narratives that are devoid of the interpretational and reconstructional practices that characterise history. One article was coded as using history genetically since it argued the contextual contingency of what is perceived to be historically meaningful when history is reconstructed and interpreted.¹⁶⁷ These results are used to argue that popular history magazines may be a welcome complement in history teaching since they can be used to discuss and analyse the importance of perspective in history, thus offering an opportunity to further a more disciplinary historical understanding.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶² Ibid., 510–11.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 512–13.

¹⁶⁴ Thorp, 'Popular History Magazines and History Education', 105–6.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 106–7.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 107–8.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 108–9.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 109–10.

Representation and Interpretation: Textbooks, Teachers, and Historical Culture

This article presents a study of how contemporary Swedish lower secondary school textbooks present the emergence of the Cold War and how ten active lower secondary school history teachers interpreted a quotation that was ambiguous in relation to the general narrative in the studied Swedish text-books. Thus it analyses both the content of history textbooks and how active history teachers interpret an account from a history textbook.¹⁶⁹

The study finds that the narratives presented in the textbooks studied are quite similar to each other both regarding the content they present and the uses of history they constitute. Regarding content, the majority of the text-book narratives have a marked Western bias since the Western perspective is normalised and in no need of justification. The USSR is to blame for the conflict and it is through their actions that the Cold War conflict escalates. The most prominent teleological uses of history are politico-pedagogical since the narratives set out to teach us about what happened when the Cold War emerged. The narratological uses of history are traditional and we are presented with narratives that are factual and devoid of perspective. Two textbooks were coded as using history critically since they had sections presenting both the Soviet and US perspective on the escalation of the crisis. The narratives in these textbooks used the passive voice and applied a narrative that told history ‘as it happened.’¹⁷⁰ Using these examples it is argued that there seems to be a dominant historical culture in a Swedish educational context regarding how the Cold War emerged.

The teachers interviewed were presented with a narrative that could be regarded as ambivalent regarding which side was to blame for the emergence of the Cold War conflict. Despite this, the majority of the teachers interpreted the quotation as taking a Western stand. Still, the teachers generally acknowledged that textbook narratives are representations of history and contingent on perspective, but few teachers extended this to include how their own views affect their interpretations, suggesting an intermediary appreciation of the contextual contingency of historical narratives.¹⁷¹ These results suggest that the teachers were affected by the historical cultural context they were situated in when they interpreted the narrative (since they interpreted the quotation as taking a pro-Western stand). The results also suggest the relevance of a reflexive historical consciousness that acknowledges the importance of an awareness of the contextual contingency that characterises history.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁹ Thorp, ‘Representation and Interpretation’, 80–84.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 84–89.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 89–93.

¹⁷² Ibid., 93–94.

Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History: Aspects of Two History Teachers' Relations to History and Historical Media

The fourth and final article presents a study of how two active Swedish lower secondary school teachers relate to and make sense of history through their own experiences and historical media. Using a combination of interviews and classroom observations, I strove to gain knowledge about the teaching of history by analysing the teachers' narratives of their personal experiences of the Cold War period of 1945-1989, as well as classroom observations of the teachers in practice when teaching the Cold War.¹⁷³

The study finds that the personal experiences of the Cold War narrated by the teachers show great similarities to how the Cold War is narrated in Swedish educational media and history curricula. This suggests a reliance on what could be termed to be the dominant historical culture in Swedish education regarding the Cold War. The teachers neither engaged critically with their own positionality as interpreters and disseminators of history, nor with how the Cold War was presented in the historical media used in teaching.¹⁷⁴ The teachers made existential and politico-pedagogical teleological uses of history when talking during their interviews. It was evident that the Cold War had affected their views on life and the world, and they believed it was important to teach since it enabled their pupils to get a better understanding of the world today. Narratologically, the traditional use of history was the most prominent both during interviews and teaching. One of the teachers discussed how her upbringing may have caused difficulties in appreciating and understanding Soviet society, and this answer suggests a genetical use of history. When teaching, both teachers used history traditionally, however.¹⁷⁵

These results are then used to discuss the importance of an awareness of the contextual contingency of historical representations and interpretations to develop and further critical competencies in history education, both among teachers and pupils. Given the dominance of a certain narrative about the Cold War, both in historical media and in teachers' narratives about their experiences of growing up during the era, an awareness of how this may affect how we approach the topic seems important in history teaching. The teaching observed did not engage critically with how the Cold War is framed in Swedish historical culture (as expressed in history textbooks, educational media and history curricula). I therefore argue the importance of a focus on historical consciousness in relation to history teaching to enable teachers to use history genetically and stress historicity as an important characteristic of history. Without an expressed awareness of the contextual contingencies that characterise not only historical representations but also our interpretation

¹⁷³ Thorp, 'Experiencing, Using, and Teaching History', 1-3. ¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 8-12.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 12-13.

and dissemination of them, one certain narrative of the past is reinforced and made dominant through history education.¹⁷⁶

A History Didactical Framework

As was argued in the beginning of this introductory chapter, the history didactical theoretical concepts of uses of history, historical culture and historical consciousness are in need of further theoretical inquiry in order to be applied in empirical studies. Since this research project aimed at analysing how historical media and history teachers constitute and relate to historical culture, it was essential to develop, specify, operationalise and apply a theoretical framework based on these concepts in order for the research project to succeed. The main results of this endeavour are presented below.

Specifying Historical Consciousness

In the theoretical section, I defined historical consciousness as an awareness of historicity that can be applied to understand how history is characterised by contextual contingency. This view of the concept differs from the one generally stipulated in Swedish and international research on historical consciousness. Instead, historical consciousness is usually defined as the relation between interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future.¹⁷⁷ This definition is often ascribed German historian Karl-Ernst Jeismann.¹⁷⁸ If we look at how Jeismann defines the concept we do, however, find that:

By historical consciousness we mean the permanent presence of the awareness that mankind and all social institutions and forms of co-existence created by us exist in time, i.e. they have an origin and a future and represent nothing unchangeably or unconditionally (Schieder, 1974, p. 78f). Besides the mere knowledge of or interest in history, a historical consciousness also incorporates the relationship between interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future. Since history cannot be perceived as an image of past realities, but can only be made aware through selection and interpretive reconstruction, historical consciousness is the awareness that the past is present in representations and conceptions. “History is the reconstruction, by and for the living, of dead people’s lives. Thus history is

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 14–16.

¹⁷⁷ See Sirkka Ahonen, ‘Historical Consciousness: A Viable Paradigm for History Education?’, *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 37, no. 6 (2005): 699.

¹⁷⁸ See Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet*, 56; Jensen, ‘Historiemedvetande - begreppsanalys, samhälls-teori, didaktik’, 53; Karlsson, ‘Historiedidaktik: Begrepp, teori och analys’, 48.

born through the contemporary interest that thinking, suffering and acting people have for exploring the past” (Aron, 1961, p. 17).¹⁷⁹

I interpret this to mean that Jeismann views an awareness of historicity as the definition of historical consciousness. This awareness is constituted by knowledge of and interest in the past, and the relationship between interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspectives on the future. This awareness is then manifested in how the past is present in reconstructions and conceptions. Jeismann further writes that:

[t]hrough methodological reflection, [a historical enlightenment] [...] will lead the bearer of historical consciousness to an awareness of the conditions under which he himself formulates his image of history and to an understanding of why there are different contents and forms of historical consciousness that refer to the ‘same’ past [...]. This is the requirement for the enablement of a discussion of different historical and political interpretations and that [the proponents of these] shall be able to criticise and accept each other.¹⁸⁰

I read this as relating to how a historical consciousness can be applied to human cognition. Through methodological reflection we will gain an understanding of how all history is contingent on interpretation and representation. Since this is something that characterises all history, this is also something which the proponents of differing interpretations and representations of the past can agree upon. Thus, a historical consciousness can be applied as a basis for a common rationality: we can agree that we disagree and we can inquire into why that happens to be the case. This can also be argued to be the reason why a historical consciousness is an important concept in history education and elsewhere. The awareness that characterises a historical consciousness is manifested in how the past is present in representations and conceptions, and is applied to enable us with an understanding of how all history is contingent on context.

However, in some Swedish research on historical consciousness, emphasis has been placed on what Jeismann argues to be the constituents of a historical consciousness, rather than an awareness of historicity. This has led to a focus on historical consciousness as similar to interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and perspective on the future, and thus equated the concept to these constituents, something Jeismann holds to be problematic.¹⁸¹ This approach to the concept has led to analyses of historical

¹⁷⁹ Jeismann, ‘Geschichtsbewußtsein’, 42. My translation.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 44. My translation.

¹⁸¹ Jeismann, ‘Geschichtsbewußtsein - Theorie’, 43.

consciousness searching for whether respondents or historical accounts incorporate past, present and future considerations in their narratives.¹⁸² However, it is hard to see how this multi-chronological incorporation¹⁸³ relates to an understanding of historicity and contextual contingency regarding representations and conceptions, as outlined by Jeismann (and Gadamer). Instead I think we should move towards the *understanding* that multi-chronological incorporation can develop in individuals, and this understanding could be perceived as the awareness that Jeismann's definition stipulates.¹⁸⁴ Hence, the idea is that considerations of past, present and future perspectives enable the individual to understand how all representations and conceptions are characterised by contextual contingency since they are situated within certain contexts and thus contingent on these. This view of the concept of historical consciousness avoids conflating it with interpretation of the past, understanding of the present and anticipation of the future and aligns with Jeismann's view of the concept and the outlined theoretical approach.

Generally, historical consciousness is regarded as being manifested in historical narratives and uses of history, and Jörn Rüsen has advocated that a historical consciousness is a narrative competency that individuals have.¹⁸⁵ As I have argued above, narratives that deal with history constitute uses of history. Following this logic, one can say that a historical consciousness is manifested in narratives that deal with history. But what kind of narrative competency could that be, and how can we specify a connection between a use of history and a historical consciousness? To answer these questions I think we need to return to how Jeismann claims a historical consciousness is manifested. He argues that a historical consciousness is how the past is present in representations and conceptions. I interpret this to mean that history comes alive (or is kept alive) in our contemporary representations and conceptions. This should not be taken literally or out of context, however, because then we might end up with a view that claims that a historical consciousness equals representations and conceptions, which is not a plausible way of approaching the concept, for obvious reasons. We should instead reiterate the definition offered by Jeismann to make better sense of this: he

¹⁸² See Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet*; Arndt Clavier, 'Mänsklighetens största problem genom alla tider': *En receptionsstudie av elevers miljöberättelser och historiska meningsskapande 1969* (Lund: Lunds universitet, 2011); Nanny Hartsmar, *Historiemedvetande: Elevers tidsförståelse i en skolkontext*, *Studia Psychologica et Paedagogica*. Series Altera, 0346-5926; 155 (Malmö: Institutionen för pedagogik, Lärarhögsk., 2001); Mary Ingemansson, 'Det kunde lika gärna ha hänt idag': *Maj Bylocks Drakskeppstrilogi och historiemedvetande hos barn i mellanåldrarna* (Göteborg: Makadam förlag, 2010).

¹⁸³ See Ammert, *Det osamtidigas samtidighet*, 49, 55–56.

¹⁸⁴ Robert Thorp, 'Towards an Epistemological Theory of Historical Consciousness', *Historical Encounters: A Journal of Historical Consciousness, Historical Cultures, and History Education* 1, no. 1 (30 June 2014): 20–31.

¹⁸⁵ Rüsen, 'Historical Consciousness: Narrative, Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development', 69.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to analyse and discuss how historical culture is constituted in historical media and history teachers' narratives and teaching. An underlying assumption with this approach was that history teachers would have to perform various roles due to the fact that they have personal recollections and experiences of history at the same time as they perform the official role of teaching history to pupils. This in turn pointed towards the relevance of historical culture aspects of history education both from the perspective of the educational media employed in teaching and how teachers relate to these.

The research presented showed how the historical media studied (i.e. history textbooks and popular history magazines) show great similarities in terms of how history is used narratologically. The dominating use was one that presents historical narrative as something devoid of interpretational and representational practices since history is presented as something factual and certain. Furthermore, the studies of Swedish lower secondary school history textbooks showed that these textbooks display a dominant way of narrating the outbreak of the Cold War, one that posited the USSR as the instigator and blamed 'Other' of this conflict. From a historical cultural perspective this shows two things about the studied historical media: (i) history is generally presented as if it were not the result of interpretation and representation but rather factual in kind, and (ii) Swedish lower secondary school history textbooks manifest one particular narrative and perspective regarding a historical chain of events related to the Cold War. These two findings indicate the importance of an awareness of users of these historical media that history is characterised by a critical engagement with contextual contingencies in narratives and interpretations thereof, in order to counter this dominant narratological use of history.

Furthermore, the studies found that the history teachers interviewed and observed encountered difficulties in engaging with the complexities of historical narratives and their own relations to them. When asked to interpret a textbook quotation relating the outbreak of the Cold War, the majority of the teachers engaged critically with the historical account but not with their own preconceptions of the Cold War. When two teachers were asked to relate their own experiences of growing up during the Cold War era, and when they were observed teaching the Cold War in class, the same teachers that had both displayed narratological uses of history through their engagement with historical cultural aspects of history when interpreting the textbook quotation, chose not to engage with these aspects in class or when they were asked to relate their own experiences of growing up during the Cold War era. Particularly when teaching the Cold War, these teachers narrated the Cold War